

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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R 130951Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0086

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 6321

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, JA, CH, UR

SUBJ: CHINA VISIT OF JSP DELEGATION

SUMMARY. FIRM CHINESE STAND ON HEGEMONY ISSUE REFLECTED IN JOINT JCFA-JSP JOINT COMMUNIQUE HAS OCCASIONED SURPRISE AND DISAPPOINTMENT HERE--AND COMPLICATED NEGOTIATION OF FRIENDSHIP TREATY. END SUMMARY.

1. JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY (JSP) CHAIRMAN TOMOMI NARITA RETURNED TO TOKYO MAY 12 AFTER SIGNING JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION (CFA) CHAIRMAN LIAO CHENG-CHIH. ATTENTION HERE HAS NATURALLY FOCUSED ON SUPER-POWER HEGEMONY PHRASE OF COMMUNIQUE IN CONTEXT OF GOJ-PRC FRIENDSHIP TREATY NEGOTIATIONS WHICH STALLED OVER SAME ISSUE.

2. IN PRESS ACCOUNTS FOREIGN OFFICE SOURCES HAVE POINTED UP UNUSUALLY STIFF CHINESE LINE ON HEGEMONY ISSUE. SINCE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIME MINISTER MIKI HAS OFTEN STATED PUBLICLY HIS DESIRE TO CONCLUDE AND RATIFY FRIENDSHIP TREATY DURING CURRENT DIET SESSION (SCHEDULED INITIALLY TO CONCLUDE MAY 25), FOREIGN OFFICE REPORTEDLY BELIEVES CHINESE POSITION ALMOST

CERTAIN TO INFLUENCE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS. IN RELATED DEVELOPMENT, JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TO PEKING OGAWA IS SCHEDULED TO RETURN HOME MAY 13 FOR DISCUSSION OF JAPAN'S NEXT MOVE.

3. AT SAME TIME, FONOFF SOURCES NOTED CHINESE LIMITED THEMSELVES TO "RESPECT" FOR CORRECTNESS OF JSP OPPOSITION TO US-JAPAN MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY. THIS FOREIGN OFFICE TOOK TO MEAN CHINESE STILL SO NOT OPPOSE TREATY. THEY ALSO FOUND CHINESE POSITION COMPATIBLE WITH REPORTED CHOU EN-LAI JANUARY COMMENT TO SHIGERU HORI THAT US-JAPAN TIES WERE VERY IMPORTANT AND JAPANESE PEOPLE SHOULD REALIZE THIS FACT.

4. AS FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL ASPECTS, LDP REACTION TO COMMUNIQUE THUS FAR HAS BEEN REMARKABLY RESTRAINED, WITH STRONG CHINA SUPPORTERS TENDING TO "UNDERSTAND" NARITA POSITION AND HAWKS MORE CRITICAL. JSP, HOWEVER, IS SPLIT RIGHT DOWN MIDDLE WITH PRO-SOVIET WING SHARPLY CRITICAL AND PRO-CHINA WING SUPPORTIVE OF NARITA. IN HIS OWN DEFENSE NARITA SAID HIS POSITION WAS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE JSP-CHINA TIES.

5. COMMENT. REACTION HERE, EXCEPT FOR INTERNAL JSP MACHINATIONS, APPEARS TO BE MORE SORROW THAN ANGER AT NARITA'S COMPLETE CAPITULATION ON HEGEMONY ISSUE. PROBABLY THIS IS BECAUSE GOVERNMENT CAN EMPATHIZE WITH NARITA WHO, AFTER ALL, WISHED TO AVOID HEGEMONY ISSUE FOR FEAR OF ANTAGONIZING SOVIETS--PRECISELY REASON GOJ WISHES TO AVOID ISSUE. (THERE MAY ALSO BE REAWAKENED GOJ CONCERN THAT SOMEDAY HEGEMONY PHRASING MAY BE TURNED AGAINST US). THUS FOREIGN OFFICE, LDP AND EVEN NORMALLY CRITICAL MEDIA APPEAR TO BE SURPRISED AND DISAPPOINTED THAT THERE WAS NO CHINESE WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE AT ALL.

6. DESPITE FONOFF'S HOPES FOR BREAKTHROUGH (TOKYO 5876 NOTAL), IT APPEARS TO US THIS EPISODE LIKELY TO MAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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EARLY COMPROMISE ON HEGEMONY ISSUE IN FRIENDSHIP TREATY THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT--ALTHOUGH NOT IMPOSSIBLE--IN NEAR FUTURE. GOJ, OF COURSE, WOULD NOT HAVE TO ACCEPT EXTREME WORDING FOISTED ON HAPLESS SOCIALISTS BUT MIKI'S HAVING TO JOINT COMPANY WITH NARITA, AT LEAST BY ASSOCIATION, WILL NOT MAKE TAKS ANY EASIER. WITH OGAWA'S RETURN, WE WILL BE SEEKING FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF FONOFF PLANS.

7. IN PURELY DOMESTIC TERMS, NARITA'S PERFORMANCE MUST BE VIEWED IN CONTEXT OF EARLIER--THIS WAS SIXTH--JSP VISITS TO PEKING. 1959 VISIT, FOR EXAMPLE, PRODUCED FAMOUS ASANUMA STATEMENT THAT US IMPERIALISM IS COMMON ENEMY OF CHINA AND JAPAN AND NARITA'S OWN MOST RECENT

(1970) COMMUNIQUE LISTED US IMPERIALISM, SOVIET REVISION-
ISM, JCP REVISIONISM, AND REACTIONARY SATO GOVERNMENT AS
COMMON ENEMIES. NARITA'S POSITION IN PARTY IS THUS NOT
LIKELY TO SUFFER FROM HIS UPPINENESS IN PEKING.
HODGSON

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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